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Language Attitudes, Family Language and Generational Cohort in Catalonia: New Contributions from a Multivariate Analysis

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Abstract:	<p>The effect of the generational cohort on language attitudes has hardly ever been studied. However, especially in the bilingual territories in Spain, literature stresses the importance of being Spanish-speakers or non-Spanish-speakers in the construction of these attitudes. Focusing on the case of Catalonia (Spain), this paper is intended to analyze the impact of the family language and the generational cohort on the language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish that is built by immigrant children (aged 14-16). The nature of the analysis carried out as a result of an attitude questionnaire answered by 527 young people, allows differentiating the effect of both variables individually when included in the same explanatory model. Results indicate that being Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking is influential in the construction of attitudes towards Spanish and towards Catalan. Moreover, the generational cohort is only influential for attitudes towards Catalan and when a migratory transit has been experienced or not. Since both variables are included in the same model, it is suggested that the effect of the generational cohort is moderated by being Spanish-speaking or not. The new perspectives opened up by these results are discussed as regards the promotion of intercultural communication and a common project of coexistence.</p>

For Peer Review

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The effect of the generational cohort on language attitudes has hardly ever been studied. However, especially in the bilingual territories in Spain, literature stresses the importance of being Spanish-speakers or non-Spanish-speakers in the construction of these attitudes. Focusing on the case of Catalonia (Spain), this paper is intended to analyze the impact of the family language and the generational cohort on the language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish that is built by immigrant children (aged 14-16). The nature of the analysis carried out as a result of an attitude questionnaire answered by 527 young people, allows differentiating the effect of both variables individually when included in the same explanatory model. Results indicate that being Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking is influential in the construction of attitudes towards Spanish and towards Catalan. Moreover, the generational cohort is only influential for attitudes towards Catalan and when a migratory transit has been experienced or not. Since both variables are included in the same model, it is suggested that the effect of the generational cohort is moderated by being Spanish-speaking or not. The new perspectives opened up by these results are discussed as regards the promotion of intercultural communication and a common project of coexistence.

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Spanish-speaking – non-Spanish-speaking, Generational Cohort, Catalonia (Spain), Young Immigrants.

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Introduction

The Spanish Constitution acknowledges that, although Spanish is the official language in the State, local or regional languages can be co-official according to the corresponding Statutes of Autonomy of the bilingual territories in the country: this is the case of Catalan (in Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands), Basque (in the Basque Country and Navarra), Galician (in Galicia), Asturian (in Asturias), and Catalan and Aragonese in Aragon.

However, the development of these Statutes of Autonomy has been unequal in the bilingual territories of the Spanish State. Hence, while in Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, Navarra and Galicia the local languages have been awarded with the co-official status, this is not the case in Asturias or Aragon, where the regional languages are protected but not recognized as co-official. This has had obvious implications as regards the development of uneven sociolinguistic situations from the point of view of the vitality of the language, its social presence, the role it plays in the educational system as well as the language attitudes of the population (González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales & Hevia, 2013; Huget, 2007 among others).

In the particular case of Catalonia, the Act of Linguistic Normalization of Catalonia was passed in 1983 with the support of the vast majority of the political parties at the time, and almost all of society. This Law has resulted in the reinvigoration of the Catalan language. This has happened thanks to: i) the introduction of Catalan as the vehicular language within the Educational System through the so-called immersion programmes (although they should really be referred to as joint teaching programmes) (Vila-Moreno & Galindo, 2009), which consolidated knowledge of the Spanish and Catalan languages, ii) the significant presence of

Catalan in the media and iii) the use of Catalan by the Administration (Turell, 2001). This Act was initially designed for speakers of two languages, Spanish and Catalan, according to the demographic scenario in the 1980s and 1990s, and has become a model to be followed due to its success, both as regards language learning and language attitudes, and as the driving force of an ascending social mobility and normalized coexistence (Solé, 1981; Woolard & Gang, 1990).

However, the current socio-demographic composition of the adolescent population in Catalonia has changed significantly, mainly due to the migrations experienced in recent decades. Thus, the non-Spanish population under 19 years of age in Catalonia has increased by 30.37% during the period 2006-2013, increasing from 188,259 to 245,441 (National Institute of Statistics, 2015). One of the most obvious consequences of this is the exponential increase of diversity in all respects. This includes the linguistic panorama, as it is calculated that currently around 250 languages are spoken in Catalonia (Linguamón, 2014). However, the presence of non-peninsular varieties of Spanish is outstanding; these are spoken by the majority of young immigrant people from Latin America, which accounts for 21.68% of all young immigrants.

In this scenario, initiatives for integration place emphasis on the creation of a common public culture, understood as 'the shared space for communication, coexistence, acknowledgement and participation of our diverse and differentiated society, so that the Catalan nation continues to be the referent for all the people who live and work in Catalonia' (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008, p. 49). This public culture strives to make Catalan the backbone of common multilingual coexistence, turning Catalan into the element that allows multicultural communication and social mobility and cohesion *par excellence* (Generalitat de Catalunya,

2008, 2009, 2013). Within the area of education, recent reviews of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (*Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesió Social*), better known as Pla LiC (Government of Catalonia, 2007, 2009), stress this principle, as their main aim in ‘promoting and consolidating social cohesion, intercultural education and the Catalan language within a multilingual framework’ (Government of Catalonia, 2009, p. 14).

Obviously, the elements that intervene in the construction process of this project of multilingual coexistence are many and varied in nature. Arguably, one of the most significant elements to be identified in a multilingual and multicultural context is that of language attitudes (Edwards, 2009; Garret, 2010). On this point, Lewis (1981) states that the success in designing and implementing any policy directly or indirectly related to languages is tied to the knowledge of the population’s language attitudes. Thus, its effectiveness is related to its influence on the attitudes of the actors involved, its capacity to transform the attitudes of those who do not share them and the analysis of the causes behind these attitudes. This is based on the premise that attitudes are not innate, but learnt and may be modified with experience (Baker, 1992; Garret, 2010; Ianos, Huguet, Janés & Lapresta, 2015).

Moreover, such attitudes go beyond cognitive, evaluative and behavioural elements involved (Baker, 1992). For Edwards (1999) these work like ‘windows’ that reflect deeper social processes, such as stereotypes, prejudices or one’s own attitudes towards the speakers of that language. Likewise, attitudes may become the identity attribute *par excellence* (Edwards, 2009; Fishman, 1977; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). Therefore, attitudes reflect memberships and are deeply tied to ideologies and language preferences (Alarcón & Parella, 2013; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Trenchs & Newman, 2009; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

Language attitudes concern the whole population, but they reach adolescents in an amplified way, especially the children of immigrants. That is because they gather life experiences which are completely different from those of their 'autochthonous' contemporaries, which may determine different types of outcomes in the labour, educational, identifying and attitudinal fields. In this respect, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) and Rumbaut (2006) indicate that the descendants of immigrants as a whole (immigrants themselves or those born in the receiving society) develop unequal processes of accommodation, mainly due to unequal educational, linguistic, civic, political and labour conditions and trajectories. Thus, origin (one's own or the parents') and the moment in life when the incorporation takes place intervene in the manner and the patterns of adolescent accommodation into society. Given these premises, the generational cohort is the theoretical construct that allows to operate with being born or not in the receiving society, the age on arrival, the length of stay and the origin of the parents all together.

Using the formulation elaborated by Rumbaut (2004), based on Warner and Srole's (1945) typology¹, the generational cohort differentiates sectors of the population according to the different cultural, educational, social, relational, linguistic or identity-related experiences, as a result of migrating at one age or another, being born in the receiving society, and the parental composition. Thus, cohort 1.0 are those immigrants that have arrived in the receiving society at the age of 18 or older, cohort 1.25 are those who have arrived between the ages of 13 and 17, cohort 1.50 between 6 and 12 and cohort 1.75 between 0 and 5. In the case of those born in the society receiving the parents, the generational cohort 2.0 includes the descendants of couples made up of two immigrants and cohort 2.5 those whose parents are mixed.

This classification is not random or arbitrary. Those in the first years of cohort 1.0 and those in cohort 1.25 are people who arrived at the beginning of their youth or the end of adolescence, who carried out their socialization mainly in the society of origin and make it to the last stages of the educational system or go straight into the labour market. If we take this into account, hypothetically their experiences and outcomes would be closer to those of adult immigrants than to younger immigrants or those born at destination (Rumbaut, 1997). Those who arrive at ages between 6 and 12 (cohort 1.50) have had a certain degree of contact and the opportunity to start their socialization at origin; they have started their education, language and cultural learning that will be completed in the destination society. Those who arrive in the first years of their childhood (cohort 1.75) have had little or no contact with their society of origin, therefore developing their socialization process and their education, language and cultural learning in the receiving society. This exposes them to vital experiences and possible outcomes which are close to those of the children of immigrants born at destination -cohorts 2.0 and 2.5-.²

The generational cohort (or the adaptations of it) has proven operational and explanatory in the study of outputs of the children of migrations. These works cover, among others, the process of integration in its widest sense (Alarcón, Parella & Yiu, 2014; Kurthen & Schmitter, 2009; Portes, Fernández-Kelly & Haller, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, among others), self-identifications (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process; name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Portes, Vickstrom & Aparicio, 2012, among others), language maintenance and language change (Alba, Logan, Lutz & Stults, 2006; Mora, Villa & Dávila, 2006; Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Schaufli, 1994), language preferences (Alarcón & Parella, 2013) and attitudes towards immigration and immigrants (Wilkes &

Corrigal-Brown, 2011). However, the generational cohort has hardly ever been used so far in the study of language attitudes.

Nevertheless, it is not by chance that several dimensions included in the generational cohort have shown to be relevant in the development of these attitudes. Huguet, Janés and Chireac (2008) applied a questionnaire on language attitudes to 225 immigrant students in different locations in Catalonia, evidencing how attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mainly positive, although they are modulated by the family language, the area of origin and the length of stay. Thus, those who had lived longer in Catalonia build more positive attitudes towards Catalan. More recently, Madariaga, Huguet and Lapresta (2013) applied a questionnaire to 1,206 autochthonous and immigrant students in their 2nd and 4th year of compulsory secondary education in Catalonia, concluding again that, although attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mainly positive, in the case of immigrants they are influenced by the mother tongue (Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking immigrants), the language spoken at home, the length of stay and the age on arrival. Spanish speakers, most of whom also speak Spanish at home, show more favourable attitudes towards Spanish than towards Catalan than other groups. The same applies to those born in Catalonia. In an analysis of the discourses that support language attitudes of immigrants, [name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process] (2010) show how the variables 'origin' or 'length of stay' determine such discourses, although self-identification with the place of residence and the level of integration have proved to be important too.

At this stage, a review of the variables influencing the construction of language attitudes also shows the great importance of the mother tongue/family language of the descendants of immigrants. Likewise, in the bilingual territories of Spain, it shows the importance of being

Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking. In the Basque Country, Ibararán, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2007) underline that those immigrants whose mother tongue is Spanish show more positive attitudes towards this language than those who have a different language. Rojo, Madariaga and Huguet (2010) underline that Spanish speakers have less positive attitudes towards Basque. The works by Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al. (2013) focus on Catalonia, and they conclude that Spanish-speakers tend to develop more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less positive towards Catalan than other groups with other languages.

Taking into account the almost total non-existence of studies about the impact of the generational cohort on language attitudes and the proven importance of the family language (Spanish-speaker – non-Spanish-speaker), it is consequently deemed necessary to carry out studies that delve into the interrelations of these two factors and their joint effects. Besides this, in order to provide more in-depth results about this interrelation, this topic is studied using new analysis techniques. The influence of each variable will be tested not only separately but also jointly in an explanatory model. This will allow detecting which variable has a greater impact, and to what extent.

Therefore, the main objectives of this paper are as follows:

- i. To analyze the impact of the family (Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.

- ii. To study the impact of the generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.
- iii. To analyze the joint and interrelation impact of the language at home (Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker) and the generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.

Methodology

Participants

The total sample is composed of 527 young people from 10 Compulsory Secondary Education Schools in Catalonia. More precisely, two schools in the city of Barcelona, two in the province of Barcelona, one in the city of Girona, one in the province of Girona, one in the city of Tarragona, one in the province of Tarragona, one in the city of Lleida and one in the province of Lleida. When selecting the participating schools, the researchers asked for the support of the educational authorities who provided the research team with a list of school. This group of schools was selected in order to guarantee that the research included a representative sample as regards the presence of descendants of immigrants in both, rural and urban context. In addition, the sociolinguistic context was taken into account in order to have a more comprehensive panorama of the situation in Catalonia.

Their average age is 14.80 years, 48.80% (257) are boys and 51.20% (270) girls.

Variables

The variables considered in our research are:

A) Attitudes towards Catalan: variable with a range from -10 to +10 in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude and +10 totally positive.

B) Attitudes towards Spanish: variable with a range from -10 to +10 in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude and +10 totally positive.

C) Family language: comprises the categories Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker.

D) Generational Cohort: comprises the categories Cohort 1.25 (arrived in Catalonia at ages between 13 and 17) / Cohort 1.50 (between 6 and 12) / Cohort 1.75 (between 0 and 5) / Cohort 2.0 (born in Catalonia to foreign parents). The sample did not include subjects in cohort 1.0 (arrived at an age older than 17, as the current research focuses on teenagers aged 14 to 16), while those included in cohort 2.5 were scarce, and therefore were not considered in the analysis.

Table 1 shows the sample distribution according to the independent variables.

[Table 1 near here]

Materials

The results were obtained from questionnaires designed to analyze the sociolinguistic and socio-demographic attitudes of participants. More specifically, in order to obtain indicators on language attitudes, the surveys elaborated by the Service for Teaching of Catalan (SEDEC) based on the work by Sharp, Price, Francis and Davis (1973) were adapted. These tools have been successfully used in other works investigating immigration contexts (Huguet et al., 2008; Madariaga et al. 2013; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). They were tested for reliability by the test-retest procedure, with a two-month interval between both applications, obtaining a correlation of $r=.703$ ($p<.0001$).

The questionnaire comprises twenty statements of dichotomous reply (YES/NO), ten for each language. Each one is scored +1 or -1, according to the favourable or unfavourable reply to the given language. The sum yields a score ranging between -10 (a completely unfavourable attitude) and +10 (a completely favourable attitude), 0 being a completely neutral attitude.

Treatment of results

Descriptive statistics and means comparison tests have been used (Mean and Standard Deviation) for the data analysis, with the aim of observing the impact of being Spanish-speaking – non-Spanish-speaking and the generational cohort individually on language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. In this case ANOVA and Bonferroni's test were used, which allow for deeper analysis when the first result is significant.

In a second stage, the General Linear Models (GLM) have been elaborated in order to be able to establish the joint effect, the interaction of being a Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker

and the generational cohort on the attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. The GLM allows to assess the joint effect of both variables (and establish which one is more influential) as regards the differences found in the attitude means.³

Results

Firstly, descriptive data and the analysis of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish according to the variables family language (Spanish-speaker /non-Spanish-speaker) and generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) are presented disaggregated (bivariate analysis). Secondly, the analysis of the aggregate effect of both variables on the attitudes will be carried out, with the aim of establishing their influence and, if any, elucidate which of them has the greatest influence (multivariate analysis).

Language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. Descriptive and bivariate analysis.

Taking young people as a whole, attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mostly positive. More specifically, and keeping in mind that the scale may range between -10 and +10, the mean of attitudes towards Catalan is 4.9184 (SD= 4.6563) and slightly higher towards Spanish ($x= 6.6243$; SD= 3.1902). The more favourable attitude towards Spanish is Statistically significant ($t_{att-spa /att-cat(526)} = -6.669$; $p < .000$).⁴

Being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker introduces a clear difference in language attitudes (Figure 1). Spanish speakers develop more positive attitudes towards Spanish than their non-Spanish-speaking contemporaries, while the latter have more positive attitudes

towards Catalan. These differences, again, are significant ($F_{\text{att-spa}(1,525)} = 34.741$; $p < .000$ / $F_{\text{att-cat}(1,525)} = 21.940$; $p < .000$).

[Figure 1 near here]

The generational cohort also influences in attitudes (Figure2), but not with regard to Catalan, not to Spanish. Moreover, regarding Catalan, differences are found in cohort 1.25 ($x = 4.4758$; $SD = 4.72747$), cohort 1.50 ($x = 4.6667$; $SD = 4.69580$) and cohort 2.0 ($x = 6.7538$; $SD = 4.30127$), that is, among those who arrived at the age of 6 or older and those born in Catalonia ($F_{\text{att-cat}/1.25-2.0(3,523)} = 4.123$; $p = .007$ / $F_{\text{att-cat}/1.50-2.0(3,523)} = 4.123$; $p = .007$). This is not found among the cohorts that involve a migratory transit.

[Figure 2 near here]

Language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish: Multivariate analysis

Up until now we have seen that, individually, the family language models language attitudes towards two languages, and the generational cohort models language attitudes in the case of Catalan. However, including the two variables into the same explanatory model reveals that they do not have the same amount of influence.

Focusing on the attitudes towards Catalan, the General Linear Model (GLM) performed explains a significant proportion of the variance (for the significance of the Corrected Model; $p < .000$) (Table 2). It also informs that the variable language at home has an individual effect,

while the variable generational cohort loses it. Moreover, the interaction between language at home and cohort is not significant, which means they do not have a joint effect.

[Table 2 near here]

In order to explain the influence of the variables we elaborate an Interaction Graph (Figure3). As a general tendency, the language at home is observed to increase positive attitudes, although attitudes towards Catalan may be more or less positive according to the cohort; non-Spanish speakers in all cases show better attitudes than Spanish speakers.

[Figure 3 near here]

The joint effect of one's own language and the generational cohort on attitudes towards Spanish follows a totally similar pattern (Table 3). The GLM explains a significant proportion of the variance (for the signification of the Corrected Model; $p < .000$), being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker has an influence, while belonging to one cohort or another does not. The same happens with their interaction.

[Table 3 near here]

The Interaction Graph confirms these results (Figure4).

[Figure 4 near here]

It shows how being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker is what modulates attitudes towards Spanish. This already happened with Catalan, but with a basic difference: being Spanish-speaker prompts more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less positive attitudes towards Catalan.

Discussion

As a general rule, young people's language attitudes are mostly positive, although more so towards Spanish. This attitudinal pattern is moderated by the language at home, in that Spanish-speakers develop more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less favourable attitudes towards Catalan. Moreover, those born in Catalonia (cohort 2.0) develop more positive attitudes towards Catalan than those who arrived aged 6 or older (cohorts 1.25 and 1.50).

The role played by the mother tongue spoken by the participants of the study (the fact that they are Spanish-speakers or not) coincides with the results obtained in previous works in different bilingual contexts within Spain, such as those by Ibararán et al. (2007), Rojo et al. (2010), Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al. (2013). These studies underline the relevance of speaking Spanish as a mother tongue in the development of more positive language attitudes and they conclude that Spanish-speakers show more favourable attitudes towards Spanish and less positive attitudes towards Catalan than their counterparts who are not native speakers of Spanish.

The generational cohort plays a somewhat ambivalent role. In the case of attitudes towards Catalan, the generational cohort has an impact among those who arrived at an older age and

those born in Catalonia, an aspect that partially responds to the premises and hypotheses derived from this formulation (Rumbaut, 2004).. However, we need to point out that attitudinal patterns do not differ in young immigrants regardless of their age. That is, attitudes towards Catalan are not different between someone who migrated at the age of two and someone who did so at the age of 14. In Catalonia these results reproduce almost mimetically those obtained by *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process* focusing on the impact of the generational cohort on self-identification with Catalonia and the place of origin, and those by *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*, focusing on self-identification with Catalonia and its predicting factors. Results coincide partially with those obtained by Alarcón and Parella (2013) that analyze the language preference and those already cited by Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al. (2013), which indicate that, as a general tendency, a longer length of stay produces better attitudes towards Catalan.

The results obtained allow for a deeper understanding and explanation of these studies. As in the case of attitudes towards Catalan, the effect of the cohort has been shown to be mediated by being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker. In other words, the data suggest that belonging to one cohort or another implies more or less favourable attitudes at baseline, but being a Spanish-speaker or a non-Spanish-speaker is what contributes to explain the development of more positive attitudes. Moreover, it has no influence on attitudes towards Spanish.

Implications for multilingual and multicultural coexistence

Obviously, the data provided have limitations and further multivariate studies are necessary, as well as those from a qualitative perspective, in order to explain further the effects of these

variables (and others) in the shaping of attitudes. However, this should not preclude putting forward crucial issues concerning intercultural communication and their implications for the improvement of multilingual coexistence.

Several studies focus on the high regard, symbolism and value transferred to the Spanish language and its non-peninsular variants by the group Spanish-speakers (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Newman, Patiño & Trenchs, 2013; Trenchs & Newman, 2009). Spanish is their mother tongue and, therefore, a much interiorised identity symbol that can enable a subject to transcend whether they are born or not in Catalonia. From an instrumental point of view it is valued very highly as it is considered to open a worldwide communicative spectrum. The social presence of Spanish in Cataluña is high, hence being able to understand Catalan and speak Spanish is considered sufficient for any need. Along these lines, some discourses even proclaim the idea that the rest of immigrants need to learn Catalan, since Spanish is co-official in Catalonia, and it is not necessary in their case (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). Catalan is also valued but for different reasons. Its social value is perceived in Catalonia, from the point of view of integration and for its instrumental value; its knowledge and use are perceived as symbols of willingness to integrate. It also facilitates access to the labour market later on in life. However, there is still a negative tendency in its use. Most of these arguments are also detected in other collectives who have different languages, but not to such a great extent (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Trenchs & Newman, 2009).

However, these papers also show that these types of discourse are closely related with the levels of satisfaction with life in Catalonia, the perceived social and school value (Newman et al. 2013), language ideologies (Newman, Trenchs & Ng, 2008; Trenchs & Newman, 2009)

and identity constructions (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). That is, there is a tendency that these discourses occur among those less satisfied with their life experience, who feel less socially valued, who therefore develop monolingual ideologies and, as a consequence, equally monolingual identity constructions. And the contrary, young people who develop a higher degree of satisfaction, a higher perceived social value, multilingual cosmopolitan ideologies and identities, show more favourable attitudes towards all languages. Moreover, this all happens regardless of their own mother tongue or place of origin. Therefore, it is possible to accept that these conditions may be more explanatory on the construction of attitudes than having migrated to or been born in Catalonia. Furthermore, they have translations to language attitudes in the form of 'windows' that would reflect these processes (Edwards, 1999).

Thus, considering that behind the more or less positive attitudes towards languages there are factors connected with the fields of ideology, identity and integration, measures seeking to foster better language attitudes need to tackle all the other factors mentioned. Thus, measures seeking to foster better language attitudes need to tackle factors connected with the fields of ideology, identity and integration, as all of these are connected with more or less positive attitudes towards languages. Clearly, the role of the educational system is essential here: it is a must that authorities approach specific measures to promote school and social integration and boost the value of the language and culture of young immigrants. This point is relevant in order to reinforce the self-esteem of young citizens and support the development of multicultural and multilingual identities. However, in order to guarantee these suggestions are truly effective, they should not only apply to descendants of immigrants but also to local citizens. This is all called upon to facilitate intercultural communication and the construction of a multicultural and multilingual society.

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Notes

1. Warner and Srole (1945) differentiate between immigrants born overseas (P generation) and born in the host society –the United States in this case - (F generation). In turn, among the first, P1 would be those who had arrived at an age older than 18, and P2 those who arrived at an age younger than 18. In the case of those born in the host society, they differentiate between the children from immigrant parents born in the host society (F1) and the grandchildren (F2).

2. Delving deeper into the analytical use of cohorts, Waters and Jiménez (2005) stress that these allow to adjust the generational study, since the individuals from different generations, but from a similar generational cohort, have similar experiences in their host societies. This is due to the fact that they may have similar experiences in belonging to the same generational cohort. This also allows to overcome a ‘supposed’ sequential time conception since, as stated above, each generation has different cohorts and each cohort exists in different generations. Complementarily, this allows segregating according to one of the elements that repeatedly shows to be significant in the study of experiences and outcomes of the descendants of immigrants, which is being born or not in the host society and having one or both parents immigrant (generational cohorts 2.0 and 2.5).

3. A General Linear Model is not a correlational technique, and it is not necessarily predictive.

This type of models analyze the joint effect of two variables (usually nominal variables) as regards the differences in the mean of a third variable (the dependent variable). Although the nominal variables can be analyzed separately, the study of their impact is more reliable when considered jointly. In this sense, the interaction of both variables is considered taking into account that it might change the results of the individual analysis (Field, 2012).

4. Only in this case has Student's t Test been used for mean comparison, since the mean values are compared for the same group in two different variables.

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Language Attitudes, Family Language and Generational Cohort in Catalonia: New Contributions from a Multivariate Analysis

The effect of the generational cohort on language attitudes has hardly ever been studied. However, especially in the bilingual territories in Spain, literature stresses the importance of being Spanish-speakers or non-Spanish-speakers in the construction of these attitudes. Focusing on the case of Catalonia (Spain), this paper is intended to analyze the impact of the family language and the generational cohort on the language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish that is built by immigrant children (aged 14-16). The nature of the analysis carried out as a result of an attitude questionnaire answered by 527 young people, allows differentiating the effect of both variables individually when included in the same explanatory model. Results indicate that being Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking is influential in the construction of attitudes towards Spanish and towards Catalan. Moreover, the generational cohort is only influential for attitudes towards Catalan and when a migratory transit has been experienced or not. Since both variables are included in the same model, it is suggested that the effect of the generational cohort is ~~modulated~~^{moderated} by being Spanish-speaking or not. The new perspectives opened up by these results are discussed as regards the promotion of intercultural communication and a common project of coexistence.

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Spanish-speaking – non-Spanish-speaking, Generational Cohort, Catalonia (Spain), Young Immigrants.

Word Count: ~~5,733~~^{6,064}

Introduction

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The Spanish Constitution acknowledges that, although Spanish is the official language in the State, local or regional languages can be co-official according to the corresponding Statutes of Autonomy of the bilingual territories in the country: this is the case of Catalan (in Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands), Basque (in the Basque Country and Navarra), Galician (in Galicia), Asturian (in Asturias), and Catalan and Aragonese in Aragon.

However, the development of these Statutes of Autonomy has been unequal in the bilingual territories of the Spanish State. Hence, while in Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, Navarra and Galicia the local languages have been awarded with the co-official status, this is not the case in Asturias or Aragon, where the regional languages are protected but not recognized as co-official. This has had obvious implications as regards the development of uneven sociolinguistic situations from the point of view of the vitality of the language, its social presence, the role it plays in the educational system as well as the language attitudes of the population.

que, si bien el español es la lengua oficial del Estado, en los territorios con lengua propia en Cataluña, Comunidad Valenciana e Islas Baleares el catalán, en el País Vasco y Navarra el euskera, en Galicia el gallego, en Asturias el asturiano y en Aragón el aragonés y catalán éstas tendrán la posibilidad de serlo en función de sus Estatutos

Pero el desarrollo de estos Estatutos ha sido desigual en los territorios bilingües del Estado. Así, mientras en Cataluña, la Comunidad Valenciana, las Islas Baleares, el País Vasco, Navarra y Galicia comparten el estatuto de co-oficialidad, en Asturias o Aragón tan solo se reconocen su existencia y protección, sin llegar a ser cooficiales. Evidentemente, todo ello ha revertido en desiguales situaciones sociolingüísticas, tanto desde el punto de vista de su

vitalidad, su presencia social, su tratamiento en el sistema educativo o las actitudes de la población hacia ellas (González-Riaño, Fernández-Costales & Hevia, 2013; Huget, 2007 among others).

Concretamente en Cataluña In the particular case of Catalonia, the Act of Linguistic Normalization of Catalonia was passed in 1983 with the support of the vast majority of the political parties at the time, and almost all of society. This Law has resulted in the reinvigoration of the Catalan language. This has happened thanks to: i) the introduction of Catalan as the vehicular language within the Educational System through the so-called immersion programmes (although they should really be referred to as joint teaching programmes) (Vila-Moreno & Galindo, 2009), which : this consolidated the knowledge of the Spanish and Catalan languages, ii) the significant presence of Catalan in the media and iii) the use of Catalan by the Administration (Turell, 2001). This Act was initially designed for speakers of two languages, Spanish and Catalan, according to the demographic scenario in the 1980s and 1990s, and has become a model to be followed due to its success, both as regards language learning and language attitudes, and as the driving force of an ascending social mobility and normalized coexistence (Solé, 1981; Woolard & Gang, 1990).

However, the current socio-demographic composition of the adolescent population in Catalonia has changed significantly, mainly due to the migrations experienced in recent decades. Thus, the non-Spanish population under 19 years of age in Catalonia has increased by 30.37% during the period 2006-2013, increasing from 188,259 to 245,441 (National Institute of Statistics, 2015). One of the most obvious consequences of this is the exponential increase of diversity in all respects. This includes the linguistic panorama, as it is calculated that currently around 250 languages are spoken in Catalonia (Linguamón, 2014). However,

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the presence of non-peninsular varieties of Spanish is outstanding; these are spoken by the majority of young immigrant people from Latin America, which accounts for 21.68% of all young immigrants.

In this scenario, initiatives for integration place emphasis on the creation of a common public culture, understood as ‘the shared space for communication, coexistence, acknowledgement and participation of our diverse and differentiated society, so that the Catalan nation continues to be the referent for all the people who live and work in Catalonia’ (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008, p. 49). This public culture strives to make Catalan the backbone of common multilingual coexistence, turning Catalan into the element that allows multicultural communication and social mobility and cohesion *par excellence* (Generalitat de Catalunya, 2008, 2009, 2013). Within the area of education, recent reviews of the Plan for Language and Social Cohesion (*Pla per a la Llengua i Cohesió Social*), better known as Pla LiC (Government of Catalonia, 2007, 2009), stress this principle, as their main aim in ‘promoting and consolidating social cohesion, intercultural education and the Catalan language within a multilingual framework’ (Government of Catalonia, 2009, p. 14).

Obviously, the elements that intervene in the construction process of this project of multilingual coexistence are many and varied in nature. Arguably, one of the most significant elements to be identified in a multilingual and multicultural context is that of language attitudes (Edwards, 2009; Garret, 2010). On this point, Lewis (1981) states that the success in designing and implementing any policy directly or indirectly related to languages is tied to the knowledge of the population’s language attitudes. Thus, its effectiveness is related to its influence on the attitudes of the actors involved, its capacity to transform the attitudes of those who do not share them and the analysis of the causes behind these attitudes. This is based on

the premise that attitudes are not innate, but learnt and may be modified with experience (Baker, 1992; Garret, 2010; Ianos, Huguet, Janés & Lapresta, 2015).

Moreover, such attitudes go beyond cognitive, evaluative and behavioural elements involved (Baker, 1992). For Edwards (1999) these work like 'windows' that reflect deeper social processes, such as stereotypes, prejudices or one's own attitudes towards the speakers of that language. Likewise, attitudes may become the identity attribute *par excellence* (Edwards, 2009; Fishman, 1977; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). Therefore, attitudes reflect memberships and are deeply tied to ideologies and language preferences (Alarcón & Parella, 2013; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Trenchs & Newman, 2009; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

Language attitudes concern the whole population, but they reach adolescents in an amplified way, especially the children of immigrants. That is because they gather life experiences which are completely different from those of their 'autochthonous' contemporaries, which may determine different types of outcomes in the labour, educational, identifying and attitudinal fields.

In this respect, ~~Rumbaut (2006), or~~ Portes and Rumbaut (2001) and Rumbaut (2006) indicate that the descendants of immigrants as a whole (immigrants themselves or those born in the receiving society) develop unequal processes of accommodation, mainly due to unequal educational, linguistic, civic, political and labour conditions and trajectories. Thus, origin (one's own or the parents') and the moment in life when the incorporation takes place intervene in the manner and the patterns of adolescent accommodation into society. Given these premises, the generational cohort is the theoretical construct that allows to operate with

being born or not in the receiving society, the age on arrival, the length of stay and the origin of the parents all together.

Using the formulation elaborated by Rumbaut (2004), based on ~~the~~ Warner and Srole's (1945) typology¹, the generational cohort differentiates sectors of the population according to the different cultural, educational, social, relational, linguistic or identity-related experiences~~cultural, educational, identitarian, social, relational, or linguistic experiences~~, as a result of migrating at one age or another, being born in the receiving society, and the parental composition. Thus, cohort 1.0 are those immigrants that have arrived in the receiving society at the age of 18 or older, cohort 1.25 are those who have arrived between the ages of 13 and 17, cohort 1.50 between 6 and 12 and cohort 1.75 between 0 and 5. In the case of those born in the society receiving the parents, the generational cohort 2.0 includes the descendants of couples made up of two immigrants and cohort 2.5 those whose parents are mixed.

This classification is not random or arbitrary. Those in the first years of cohort 1.0 and those in cohort 1.25 are people who arrived at the beginning of their youth or the end of adolescence, who carried out their socialization mainly in the society of origin and make it to the last stages of the educational system or go straight into the labour market. If we take this into account, hypothetically their experiences and outcomes would be closer to those of adult immigrants than to younger immigrants or those born at destination (Rumbaut, 1997). Those who arrive at ages between 6 and 12 (cohort 1.50) have had a certain degree of contact and the opportunity to start their socialization at origin; they have started their education, language and cultural learning that will be completed in the destination society. Those who arrive in the first years of their childhood (cohort 1.75) have had little or no contact with their society of origin, therefore developing their socialization process and their education, language and

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cultural learning in the receiving society. This exposes them to vital experiences and possible outcomes which are close to those of the children of immigrants born at destination -cohorts 2.0 and 2.5-.²

The generational cohort (or the adaptations ~~of from~~ it) has proven operational and explanatory in the study of outputs of the children of migrations. These works cover, among others, the process of integration in ~~its~~ widest sense (Alarcón, Parella & Yiu, 2014; Kurthen & Schmitter, 2009; Portes, Fernández-Kelly & Haller, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, among others), self-identifications (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Portes, Vickstrom & Aparicio, 2012, among others), language maintenance and language change (Alba, Logan, Lutz & Stults, 2006; Mora, Villa & Dávila, 2006; Portes & Hao, 1998; Portes & Schaufli, 1994), language preferences (Alarcón & Parella, 2013) and attitudes towards immigration and immigrants (Wilkes & Corrigan-Brown, 2011). However, the generational cohort has hardly ever been used so far in the study of language attitudes.

Nevertheless, it is not by chance that several dimensions included in the generational cohort have shown to be relevant in the ~~conformation~~ development of these attitudes. Huguet, Janés and Chireac (2008) applied a questionnaire ~~on about~~ language attitudes to 225 immigrant students in different locations in Catalonia, evidencing how attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mainly positive, although they are modulated by the family language, the area of origin and the length of stay. Thus, those who had ~~live~~ lived longer in Catalonia build more positive attitudes towards Catalan. More recently, Madariaga, Huguet and Lapresta (2013), applied a questionnaire to 1,206 autochthonous and immigrant students in their 2nd and 4th year of compulsory secondary education in Catalonia, concluding again that, although

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attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mainly positive, in the case of immigrants they are influenced by ~~being the mother tongue~~ (Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking immigrants), the language spoken at home, the length of stay and the age on arrival. Spanish speakers, most of whom also speak Spanish at home, show more favourable attitudes towards Spanish than towards Catalan than other groups. The same applies to those born in Catalonia. In an analysis of the discourses that support language attitudes of immigrants, [name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process] (2010) show how the variables 'origin' or 'length of stay' determine such discourses, although self-identification with the place of residence and the level of integration have proved to be important too.

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At this stage, a review of the variables influencing the construction of language attitudes also shows the great importance of the mother tongue/family language of the descendants of immigrants. Likewise, in the bilingual territories of Spain, it shows the importance of being Spanish-speaking or non-Spanish-speaking.

In the Basque Country, Ibarrarán, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2007) underline that those immigrants whose mother tongue is Spanish show more positive attitudes towards this language than those who have a different language. Rojo, Madariaga and Huguet (2010) underline that Spanish speakers have less positive attitudes towards Euskera. The works by Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al. (2013) focus on Catalonia, and they conclude that ~~the following~~ Spanish-speakers tend to develop more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less positive towards Catalan than other groups with other languages.

Taking into account the almost total ~~non~~-existence of studies about the impact of the generational cohort on language attitudes and the proven importance of the family language

(Spanish-speaker – non-Spanish-speaker), it is consequently deemed necessary to carry out studies that delve into the interrelations of these two factors and their joint effects.

Besides this, in order to provide more in-depth results about this interrelation, this topic is studied using new analysis techniques. The influence of each variable will be tested not only separately but also jointly in an explanatory model. This will allow detecting which variable has a greater impact, and to what extent.

Therefore, the main objectives of this paper are as follows:

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- i. To analyze the impact of the family (Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.
- ii. To study the impact of the generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.
- iii. To analyze the joint and interrelation impact of the language at home (Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker) and the generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) in the shaping of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish in the case of adolescent children of immigrants in Catalonia.

Methodology

Participants

The total sample is composed of 527 young people from 10 Compulsory Secondary Education Schools in Catalonia. More precisely, Más concretamente, two schools in the city of Barcelona, two in the province of Barcelona, one in the city of Girona, one in the province of Girona, one in the city of Tarragona, one in the province of Tarragona, one in the city of Lleida and one in the province of Lleida. When selecting the participating schools, the researchers asked for the support of the educational authorities who provided the research team with a list of school. This group of schools was selected in order to guarantee that the research included a representative sample as regards the presence of descendants of immigrants in both, rural and urban context. In addition, the sociolinguistic context was taken into account in order to have a more comprehensive panorama of the situation in Catalonia.

Para su elección, y teniendo en cuenta que el objetivo fue obtener una muestra ajustada en lo referente a la presencia de descendientes de migrantes, el entorno rural urbano y el contexto sociolingüístico, se contó con el asesoramiento de las autoridades educativas catalanas.

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Their average age is 14.80 years, 48.80% (257) are boys and 51.20% (270) girls.

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Variables

The variables considered in our research are:

A) Attitudes towards Catalan: variable with a range from -10 to +10 in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude and +10 totally positive.

B) Attitudes towards Spanish: variable with a range from -10 to +10 in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude and +10 totally positive.

C) Family language: comprises the categories Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker.

D) Generational Cohort: comprises the categories Cohort 1.25 (arrived in Catalonia at ages between 13 and 17) / Cohort 1.50 (between 6 and 12) / Cohort 1.75 (between 0 and 5) / Cohort 2.0 (born in Catalonia to foreign parents). The sample did not include subjects in cohort 1.0 (arrived at an age older than 17, as the current research focuses on teenagers aged 14 to 16), while those included in cohort 2.5 were scarce, and therefore were not considered in the analysis.

Table 1 shows the sample distribution according to the independent variables.

[Table 1 near here]

Materials

The results were obtained from questionnaires designed to analyze the sociolinguistic and socio-demographic attitudes of participants. More specifically, in order to obtain indicators on

language attitudes, the surveys elaborated by the Service for Teaching of Catalan (SEDEC) based on the work by Sharp, Price, Francis and Davis (1973) were adapted. These tools have been successfully used in other works investigating immigration contexts (Huguet et al., 2008; Madariaga et al. 2013; *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). They were tested for reliability by the test-retest procedure, with a two-month interval between both applications, obtaining a correlation of $r=.703$ ($p<.0001$).

The questionnaire comprises twenty statements of dichotomous reply (YES/NO), ten for each language. Each one is scored +1 or -1, according to the favourable or unfavourable reply to the given language. The sum yields a score ranging between -10 (a completely unfavourable attitude) and +10 (a completely favourable attitude), 0 being a completely neutral attitude.

Treatment of results

Descriptive statistics and means comparison tests have been used (Mean and Standard Deviation) for the data analysis, with the aim of observing the impact of being Spanish-speaking – non-Spanish-speaking and the generational cohort individually on language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. In this case ANOVA and Bonferroni's test were used, which allow for deeper analysis when the first result is significant.

In a second stage, the General Linear Models (GLM) have been elaborated in order to be able to establish the joint effect, the interaction of being a Spanish-speaker / non-Spanish-speaker and the generational cohort on the attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. The GLM allows to assess the joint effect of both variables (and establish which one is more influential) as regards the differences found in the attitude means. Este procedimiento permite evaluar el

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efecto conjunto de las dos variables (y en su caso cuál es más importante) en las diferencias en las halladas en las medias de las actitudes.³

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Results

Firstly, descriptive data and the analysis of language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish according to the variables family language (Spanish-speaker /non-Spanish-speaker) and generational cohort (1.25/ 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0) are presented disaggregated (bivariate analysis). Secondly, the analysis of the aggregate effect of both variables on the attitudes will be carried out, with the aim of establishing their influence and, if any, elucidate which of them has the greatest influence (multivariate analysis).

Language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish. Descriptive and bivariate analysis.

Taking young people as a whole, attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are mostly positive. More specifically, and keeping in mind that the scale may range between -10 and +10, the mean of attitudes towards Catalan is 4.9184 (SD= 4.6563) and slightly higher towards Spanish (x= 6.6243; SD= 3.1902). The more favourable attitude towards Spanish is Statistically significant ($t_{att-spa / att-cat(526)} = -6.669; p < .000$).⁴

Being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker introduces a clear difference in language attitudes en las actitudes lingüísticas (Figure 1). Spanish speakers develop more positive attitudes towards Spanish than their non-Spanish-speaking contemporaries, while the latter

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have more positive attitudes towards Catalan. These differences, again, are significant ($F_{att-spa(1,525)} = 34.741$; $p < .000$ / $F_{att-cat(1,525)} = 21.940$; $p < .000$).

[Figure 1 near here]

The generational cohort also intervenes influences in attitudes (Figure2), but not with regard to CatalanSpanish, ~~on~~ only to Spanish-Catalan. Moreover, regarding Catalan, differences are found in cohort 1.25 ($x = 4.4758$; $SD = 4.72747$), cohort 1.50 ($x = 4.6667$; $SD = 4.69580$) and cohort 2.0 ($x = 6.7538$; $SD = 4.30127$), that is, among those who arrived at the age of 6 or older and those born in Catalonia ($F_{att-cat/1.25-2.0(3,523)} = 4.123$; $p = .007$ / $F_{att-cat/1.50-2.0(3,523)} = 4.123$; $p = .007$). This is not found among the cohorts that involve a migratory transit.

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[Figure 2 near here]

Language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish: Multivariate analysis.

Up until now we have seen that, individually, the family language models language attitudes towards two languages, and the generational cohort models language attitudes in the case of Catalan. However, including the two variables into the same explanatory model reveals that they do not have the same amount of influence.

Focusing on the attitudes towards Catalan, the General Linear Model (GLM) performed explains a significant proportion of the variance (for the significance of the Corrected Model; $p < .000$) (Table 2). It also informs that the variable language at home has an individual effect,

while the variable generational cohort loses it. Moreover, the interaction between language at home and cohort is not significant, which means they do not have a joint effect.

[Table 2 near here]

In order to explain the influence of the variables we elaborate an Interaction Graph (Figure3). As a general tendency, the language at home is observed to increase positive attitudes, although attitudes towards Catalan may be more or less positive according to the cohort; non-Spanish speakers in all cases show better attitudes than Spanish speakers.

[Figure 3 near here]

The joint effect of one's own language and the generational cohort on attitudes towards Spanish follows a totally similar pattern (Table 3). The GLM explains a significant proportion of the variance (for the signification of the Corrected Model; $p < .000$), being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker has an influence, while belonging to one cohort or another does not. The same happens with their interaction.

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[Table 3 near here]

The Interaction Graph confirms these results (Figure4).

[Figure 4 near here]

It shows how being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker is what modulates attitudes towards Spanish. This already happened with Catalan, but with a basic difference: being Spanish-speaker prompts more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less positive attitudes towards Catalan.

Conclusions and Discussion

As a general rule, young people's language attitudes are mostly positive, although more so towards Spanish. This attitudinal pattern is mediated moderated by the language at home, in that Spanish-speakers develop better-more positive attitudes towards Spanish and less favourable attitudes towards Catalan. Moreover, those born in Catalonia (cohort 2.0) develop more positive attitudes towards Catalan than those who arrived aged 6 or older (cohorts 1.25 25 and 1.50).

The role played by the mother tongue spoken by the participants of the study (the fact that they are Spanish-speakers or not) condition Spanish-speaker/ non-Spanish-speaker coincides with the results obtained in previous works in different bilingual contexts within Spain, such as those by Ibararán et al. (2007), Rojo et al. (2010), Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al.

(2013) these studies underline the relevance of speaking Spanish as a mother tongue in the development of more positive language attitudes and they conclude that Spanish-speakers show more favourable attitudes towards Spanish and less positive attitudes towards Catalan than their counterparts who are not native speakers of Spanish.

En ellos se destaca la importancia de ser Hispanohablante o NO-Hispanohablante en las construcciones actitudinales, siempre en el mismo sentido: los Hispanohablantes muestran

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Comment [A12]: moderated

Comment [A13]: more favourable?/more positive?

Comment [A14]: this reads a bit like a code to me - can you please unpack this a bit more in your prose

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más positivas actitudes hacia el español y menos favorables hacia el catalán que los NO-Hispanohablantes.

The generational cohort plays a somewhat ambivalent role. In the case of attitudes towards Catalan, the generational cohort has an impact among those who arrived at an older age and those born in Catalonia, an aspect that partially responds to the premises and hypotheses derived from this formulation (Rumbaut, 2004). ~~But the fact that attitudinal patterns do are not different between young people who have experienced a migrating transit, regardless of their age, contradicts it.~~ However, we need to point out that attitudinal patterns do not differ in young immigrants regardless of their age. That is, attitudes towards Catalan are not different between someone who migrated at the age of two and someone who did so at the age of 14. In Catalonia these results reproduce almost mimetically those obtained by *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process* focusing on the impact of the generational cohort on self-identification with Catalonia and the place of origin, and those by *name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*, focusing on self-identification with Catalonia ~~and sus predictores~~ and its predicting factors. Results coincide partially with those obtained by Alarcón and Parella (2013) that analyze the language preference and those already cited by Huguet et al. (2008) and Madariaga et al. (2013), which indicate that, as a general tendency, a longer length of stay produces better attitudes towards Catalan.

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The results obtained allow for a deeper understanding and explanation of these studies. ~~As~~ in the case of attitudes towards Catalan, the effect of the cohort has been shown to be mediated by being Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish-speaker. In other words, the data suggest that belonging to one cohort or another implies more or less favourable attitudes at baseline, but being a Spanish-speaker or a non-Spanish-speaker is what contributes to explain the

development of more positive attitudes. ~~lo~~ **que explica en mayor medida su mejora.** Moreover, it has no influence on attitudes towards Spanish.

~~Implicaciones~~ **Implications for multilingual and multicultural coexistence** ~~para una~~
convivencia multilingüe y multicultural?

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Obviously, the data provided have limitations and further multivariate studies are necessary, ~~as well as those~~ from a qualitative perspective, in order to explain further the effects of these variables (and others) in the shaping of attitudes. However, this ~~shouldn't~~ not preclude putting forward crucial issues concerning intercultural communication and their implications for the improvement of multilingual coexistence.

Several studies focus on the high regard, symbolism and value transferred to the Spanish language and its non-peninsular variants by the group Spanish-speakers (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Newman, Patiño & Trenchs, 2013; Trenchs & Newman, 2009). Spanish is their mother tongue and, therefore, a much interiorised identity symbol that can enable a subject to transcend whether they are being born or not in Catalonia.

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From an instrumental point of view it is valued very highly as it is considered to open a worldwide communicative spectrum. The social presence of Spanish in Cataluña is high, hence being able to understand Catalan and speak Spanish is considered sufficient for any need. Along these lines, some **discourses** even proclaim the idea that the rest of immigrants need to learn Catalan, since Spanish is co-official in Catalonia, and it is not necessary in their case (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). Catalan is also valued but for different reasons. Its social value is perceived in Catalonia, from the point of view of integration and for its instrumental value; its knowledge and use are perceived as symbols of

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willingness to integrate. It also facilitates access to the labour market later on in life. However, there is still a negative tendency in its use. Most of these arguments are also detected in other collectives who have different languages, but not to such a great extent (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*; Trenchs & Newman, 2009).

Pero estos trabajos; *However, these papers* also show that these types of discourse are closely related with the levels of satisfaction with life in Catalonia, the perceived social and school value (Newman et al. 2013), language ideologies (Newman, Trenchs & Ng, 2008; Trenchs & Newman, 2009) and identity constructions (*name deleted to maintain the integrity of the review process*). That is, there is a tendency that these discourses occur among those less satisfied with their life experience, who feel less socially valued, who therefore develop monolingual ideologies and, as a consequence, equally monolingual identity constructions. And the contrary, young people who develop a higher degree of satisfaction, a higher perceived social value, multilingual cosmopolitan ideologies and identities, show more favourable attitudes towards all languages. Moreover, this all happens regardless of their own mother tongue or place of origin. *Consecuentemente* *Therefore*, it is possible to accept that these conditions may be more explanatory *sobre las construcciones actitudinales* *on the construction of attitudes* than having migrated to or been born in Catalonia. Furthermore, they have translations to language attitudes in the form of ‘windows’ that would reflect these processes (Edwards, 1999).

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Thus, considering that behind the more or less positive attitudes towards languages there are factors connected with the fields of ideology, identity and integration, measures seeking to foster better language attitudes need to tackle all the other factors mentioned. Thus, measures seeking to foster better language attitudes need to tackle factors connected with the fields of

ideology, identity and integration, as all of these are connected with more or less positive attitudes towards languages. Clearly, the role of the educational system is essential here: it is a must that authorities approach specific measures to promote school and social integration and boost the value of the language and culture of young immigrants. This point is relevant in order to reinforce the self-esteem of young citizens and support the development of multicultural and multilingual identities. However, in order to guarantee these suggestions are truly effective, they should not only apply to descendants of immigrants but also to local citizens. Sin duda en este punto el papel de sistema educativo es crucial. Profundizar en medidas que potencien la integración escolar y social, así como la valorización de las lenguas y culturas de estos jóvenes son básicas. Y lo son porque refuerzan la autoestima y unas identidades multiculturales y multilingües. Pero no se debe olvidar que para que sean realmente efectivas, no se deben circunscribir solamente a los descendientes de migrados, sino también y de mayor importancia si cabe, a los natives. This is all called upon to facilitate intercultural communication and the construction of a multicultural and multilingual society.

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Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Warner and Srole (1945) differentiate between immigrants born overseas (P generation) and born in the host society –the United States in this case - (F generation). In turn, among the first, P1 would be those who had arrived at an age older than 18, and P2 those who arrived at

an age younger than 18. In the case of those born in the host society, they differentiate between the children from immigrant parents born in the host society (F1) and the grandchildren (F2).

2. Delving deeper into the analytical use of cohorts, Waters and Jiménez (2005) stress that these allow to adjust the generational study, since the individuals from different generations, but from a similar generational cohort, have similar experiences in their host societies. This is due to the fact that they may have similar experiences in belonging to the same generational cohort. This also allows to overcome a 'supposed' sequential time conception since, as stated above, each generation has different cohorts and each cohort exists in different generations. Complementarily, this allows segregating according to one of the elements that repeatedly shows to be significant in the study of experiences and outcomes of the descendants of immigrants, which is being born or not in the host society and having one or both parents immigrant (generational cohorts 2.0 and 2.5).

3. A General Lineal Model is not a correlational technique, and it is not necessarily predictive. This type of models analyze the joint effect of two variables (usually nominal variables) as regards the differences in the mean of a third variable (the dependent variable). Although the nominal variables can be analyzed separately, the study of their impact is more reliable when considered jointly. In this sense, the interaction of both variables is considered taking into account that it might change the results of the individual analysis

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Un Modelo Lineal General no es una técnica correlacional ni necesariamente predictiva. Analiza la influencia conjunta de dos variables (normalmente nominales) en las diferencias en las medias de una tercera (llamada dependiente). Ambas se pueden analizar por separado, pero el análisis de su impacto es más fiable cuando se analizan conjuntamente. De este modo, se tiene en cuenta la

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interacción de ambas, que puede hacer variar los resultados del análisis individual — (Field, 2012).

4. Only in this case has Student's t Test been used for mean comparison, since the mean values are compared for the same group in two different variables.

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	Spanish-speaker	NON Spanish-speaker	TOTAL		
			100%		
Family Language	44.40%(234)	55.60% (293)	(527)		
	1.25	1.50	1.75	2.0	TOTAL
Generational Cohort	23.50% (124)	55.20% (291)	8.90% (47)	12.30% (65)	100% (527)

Table 1. Sample distribution per Family Language (Spanish-speaker – non-Spanish-speaker) and Generational Cohort (1.25 / 1.50 / 1.75 / 2.0). Absolute Frequencies and Percentages. Total sample. 54x13mm (300 x 300 DPI)

For Peer Review

	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	4.178	.000**
Intercept	613.182	.000**
Family Language	21.992	.000**
Cohort	2.094	.100
Family Language *Cohort	.324	.808

Table 2. General Linear Model. Dependent variable: Attitude towards Catalan. Fixed factors: Family Language / Generational Cohort.
101x44mm (300 x 300 DPI)

	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	5.846	.000**
Intercept	2418.619	.000**
Family Language	34.752	.000**
Cohort	1.807	.145
Family Language *Cohort	.249	.862

Table 3. General Linear Model. Dependent variable: Attitude towards Spanish. Fixed factors: Family Language / Generational Cohort.
152x41mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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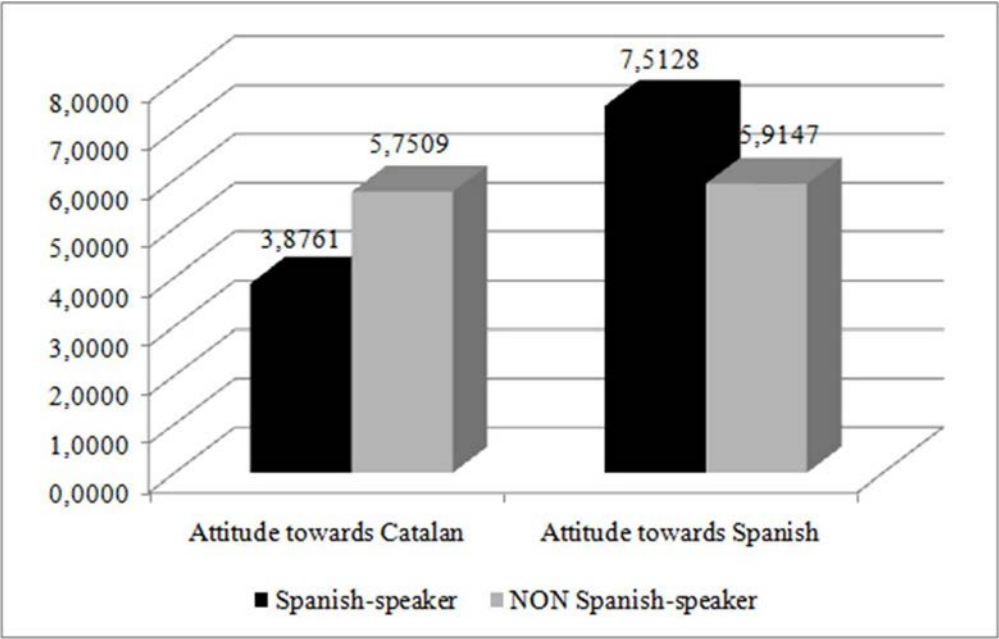


Figure 1. Means of Language Attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish according to Family Language.
46x29mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Review

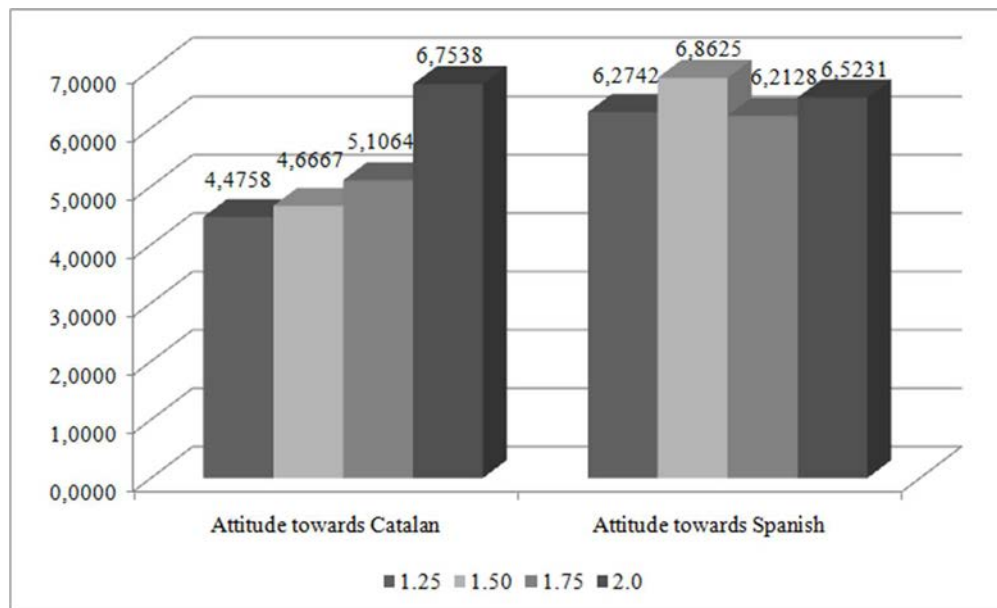


Figure 2. Means of Language Attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish according to the Generational Cohort.
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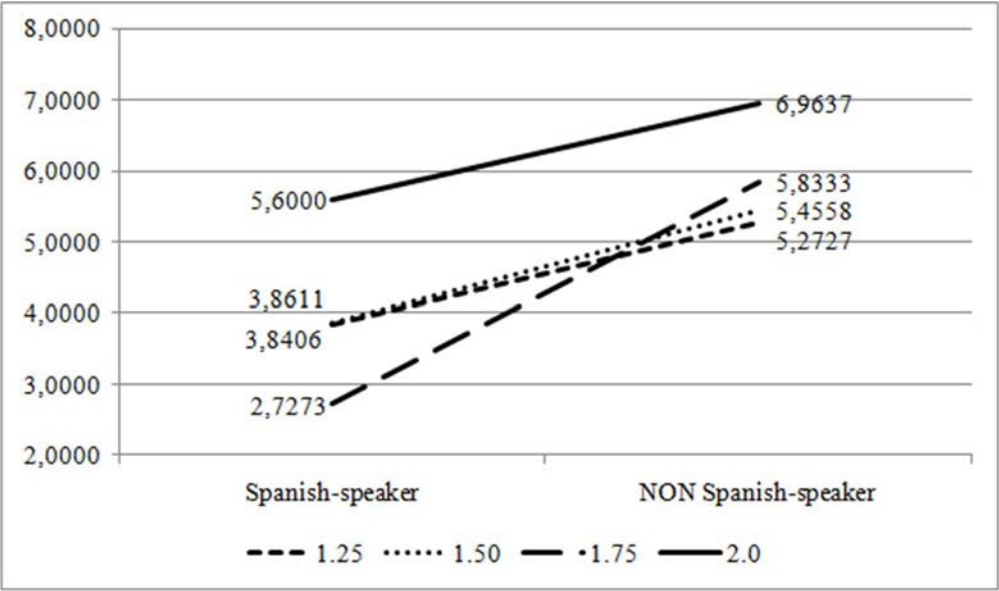


Figure 3. Estimated Marginal Means of Attitudes towards Catalan according to Family Language and Generational Cohort.
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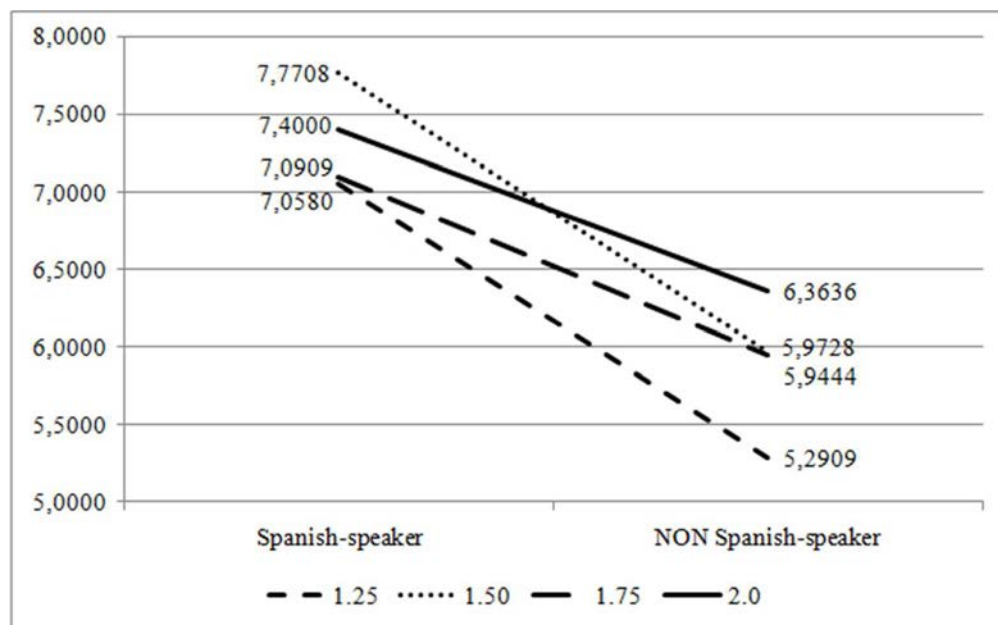


Figure 4. Estimated Marginal Means of Attitudes towards Spanish according to Family Language and Generational Cohort.
50x31mm (300 x 300 DPI)